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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a case study exploring the impact of Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) on the formation of ethnic social groups, or communities, by examining the case of Chinese students in North America and other parts of the world. The paper (1) reviews the relationship between communication and community; (2) traces the development of the electronic publications on the Internet targeted at the overseas Chinese students; (3) examines the Chinese student virtual communities in existence; and (4) discusses the significance of such communities in view of the mass media and ethnic community relationship. The paper concludes that what has made the communities of Chinese students unique is that they depend almost solely on the new electronic technology of computer networking while other communities are usually helped by the traditional media in their formation. The paper also concludes that the arrival of CMC has provided more opportunities for the establishment of various communities. Contains 47 references and 3 tables of data. (Author/RS)

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CMC and Ethnic Communities: A Case Study of Chinese Students' Electronic Publications

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CMC and Ethnic Communities:
A Case Study of Chinese Students' Electronic Publications

Abstract

This study explored the impact of computer-mediated communication (CMC) on the formation of ethnic social groups, or communities, by examining the case of Chinese students in North America and other parts of the world.

The paper reviewed the relationship between communication and community; traced the development of the electronic publications on the Internet targeted at the overseas Chinese students; examined the Chinese student virtual communities in existence; and discussed the significance of such communities in view of the mass media and ethnic community relationship.

CMC and Ethnic Communities:
A Case Study of Chinese Students' Electronic Publications

The role of mass communication in community development has remained an intriguing topic for communication scholars. Previous studies have sufficiently demonstrated the association between the level of communication and the extent to which a community can stretch. When people rely just on the word of mouth or other primitive means to communicate, a community is understandably small. A community, in such a sense, is a "physical concentration of people who are spatially delimited."[1] Advancement in communication technologies has made it possible for a community to evolve out of its original boundaries. In their study, Edelstein and Larsen examined the function of the neighborhood newspaper as a catalyst to integrate individuals and groups into an urban community composed of large residential districts,[2] where mere person-to-person communication did not work well. With the help of mass media, a community is no longer restricted by geographical boundaries. It can simply exist among people, who are situated normatively, in sentiment, [3]and "bound by a sense of identity, shared values, and, at least within areas of communicable action, a common language."[4] A community, in this broader sense, is a social group.[5] Another study by Steiner on the role of newspapers and journals produced by 19th century woman suffragists discussed how these media helped American women to locate themselves in an exciting but entirely plausible community and find there a sense of significance and purpose.[6] In a more fashionable expression, such a community can be said as a virtual community.

This study attempted to explore the impact of computer-mediated communication (CMC), or electronic publication over the Internet, by ethnic groups on the formation of ethnic communities. It focuses on the case of overseas Chinese students in various social group-like communities, which owe much of their existence to electronic publishing over computer networks. Specifically, the paper discussed 1) how computer-mediated communication technologies made it possible for the Chinese students to launch electronic journals, 2) how these electronic publications help to form various communities beyond geographical boundaries, and 3) what implications we can find in this particular case for the relationship between mass communication and ethnic communities.

The term "Chinese students" here refers to Chinese nationals who left mainland China in the 1980s and 1990s to study abroad either as university students or as exchange scholars, including those who have already graduated and are now working outside China.

The impact of computer media on the formation of communities is becoming a heated topic. "Media, Technology and Community," a conference sponsored by the Mass Communication and Society Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) in 1996, for instance, was "devoted to a broad exploration of the role of our communication technologies in redefining communities." [7]

It is now widely recognized that "E-Mail, Usenet, computer bulletin boards, and the like are organizing people into new types of communities and societies." [8] One article puts it this way,

> New communities are being built today. You cannot see them, except on a computer screen. You cannot visit them, except through your keyboard. Their highways are wires and optical fibers; their language a series of ones and zeroes.
>
> Yet these communities of cyberspace are as real and vibrant as any you could find on a globe or in an atlas. Those are real people on the other sides of those monitors. And freed from physical limitations, these people are developing

> new types of cohesive and effective communities - ones which are defined more by common interest and purpose than by an accident of geography, ones on which what really counts is what you say and think and feel, not how you look or talk or how old you are.[9]

CyberSoceity: Computer-Mediated communication and Community discusses the construction, maintenance, and mediation of community in electronic networks and computer-mediated communication. [10] As one of the articles it carries said, "participants in CMC develop forms of expression which enable them to communicate social information and to create and codify group-specific meanings, socially negotiative group-specific identities, form relationships which span from the playfully antagonistic to the deeply romantic and which move between the network and face-to-face interaction, and create norms which serve to organize interaction and to maintain desirable social climates." [11]

However, when it comes to computer-mediated communication by ethnic groups, the literature becomes scare. " Soc. Culture. Indian: computer created community for Indian students and professionals" is one of the few articles that the authors can find through Dialog Database search. The article made a content analysis of 105 messages in the "Soc. culture, India" newsgroup, and concluded that the sample study proved the bulletin board would be more a medium of integration with the peer group than a medium of assimilation and that the bulletin board would serve less as a newsgroup than as a support group. [12]

A possible reason for this scarcity is that CMC has such a relatively short history of development that at the moment research interest is focusing on CMC and community in general rather than on ethnic groups.

It is also to be noted that while there is no lack of studies on the development of CMC and its relationship with community, many are just on personal communication, such as the use of e-mail to communicate among peers, or communication via Usenet groups and postings.

The Culture of Internet , for instance, defines 'cyberspace' as a generic concept for the imagined world within the computer or the social landscape portrayed in the lists of Usenet groups.[13] On the one hand, these are not all about the ethnic media we are talking about; on the other hand, they are not as much relevant as mass media in the formation of communities.

CMC and the Chinese Students

Ever since China opened its door in the late 1970s, Chinese students have been going abroad in increasing numbers. In the 1993-94 school year, there were 44,381 registered Chinese students (excluding those from Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao) all over the United States.[14] When those who have graduated but still stay in the United States are counted, the total number of "Chinese students" there is even greater. An estimated total of 110,000 Chinese students are staying in North America,[15] some 23,000 in Japan, 10,000 in Germany, 8,000 in Britain, 3,500 in Australia, 2,700 in those newly independent states of the former Soviet Union, and 20,000 in the rest of the world.[16] World-wide, the number of Chinese students studying outside China is put at around 200,000.[17]

The Chinese students differ a lot from other Chinese immigrants. The latter tend to live with their relatives and friends in various Chinatowns or other residential areas in major cities where the Chinese dwell in a compact community and as a result, they do not have to immerse themselves in a foreign culture to make a living. The Chinese students, on the other hand, start their life overseas in an entirely different manner. They usually go to university towns where very few other Chinese residents live, plunging themselves directly into the sea of foreign

culture. In addition, their university education often lands them into jobs away from those Chinese-dominated communities.

Although ethnic Chinese media do exist in various countries, they tend to target at either ethnic Chinese in general or large Chinese communities in big cities. Few of them take particular care of the needs of Chinese students located in various isolated places. On the other hand, the Chinese students, most of whom reside in university towns with dozens or a few hundreds of them living close to one another but mingling with local residents, find their circles too small to support any professionally produced publications to serve their needs. So the Chinese students, in general, do not meet the requirements for either a geographical community, since they stretch all over the world, or a social group community, since they lack the means to communicate as a unit. But the development of CMC technologies has made the impossible possible.

**

Among many other things, the computer network-based media feature low costs. Anyone with a computer and a modem can virtually become a publisher with little extra cost in addition to the on-line fees. To most readers of on-line publications, receiving electronic publications is free or results in very little additional cost. Geographic distance poses no barrier for electronic publications transmitted over the net as long as a place is within reach of the Internet.

While the wide connections enjoyed by the Internet makes it an ideal place for electronic publications, the variety of Internet applications also enables the computer network-based media to operate in a very flexible and efficient way. Electronic journals can be sent to subscribers via e-mail instantly no matter where they are. FTP (File Transfer Protocol) lets

network users initiate an on-line connection with another Internet computer for retrieving files. Thus, those who do not subscribe to a certain electronic journal may FTP it at any time as long as it is stored in a certain archive site. More sophisticated Internet tools, such as Gopher and World Wide Web (WWW) go beyond the three basic Internet functions to made it even more convenient to locate information on the net.

With all these features, CMC offers an excellent opportunity for all types of people to launch their own publications regardless of the geographical location and financial strength of both publishers and readers.

The history of electronic publishing by Chinese students can be traced back to the late 1980s. The student demonstrations in China in the spring of 1989 drew wide attention from the world, especially among their overseas Chinese counterparts. What started as an informal exchange of news over computer networks about happenings at home finally triggered off the start of a regular electronic publication for Chinese students—*China News Digest*, which was published in English and sent to its subscribers free of charge via mailing lists.[18]

With the invention of more and more Chinese software titles and the solution of the problem of transferring Chinese files over the net, *Huaxia Wenzhai* (or *CND-Chinese Magazine*), the first global electronic magazine in Chinese, came out in April 1991. Other electronic publications in Chinese soon followed. In just a few years, Chinese students launched dozens of electronic publications based in almost all the developed countries in the world. These publications fall into three categories:

> --United States-based but globally circulated journals, including the daily English *China News Digest*; the weekly Chinese magazine *Huaxia Wenzhai*; *Xinyusi* (The New Threads), a Chinese journal published by members of the alt.chinese.text newsgroup; *Olive Tree*, a Chinese magazine devoted to poetry, and *CINET-L Newsletter*, published by

volunteers of CINET-EDITOR@CND.ORG as a forum on the development of Interent in China.

--National or regional publications, including *Chinese Community Forum, Chinese Students and Scholars Today, Chinese Community Bulletin, Dignity, and Journal of Consultation Service* in the United States; *Leeds Tongxun* and *Glasgow Xuelian Tongxun* in Britain; *Fenghuayuan, Lianyi Tongxun* and *Life Windows* in Canada; *China-Deutschland Nachrichten* and *Zhenyan* in Germany; *Northern Light* and *The Chinese in Lund* in Sweden; *Little Mermaid* in Denmark; and *Tulip* in the Netherlands.

--University publications, the exact number of which is difficult to get since most of them are published irregularly and not archived. The most well-known ones include *Wuda Tongxun* of University of Wisconsin and *Buffalo* of University of New York at Buffalo in the United States; *Red River* of University of Manitoba in Canada; and *Dongbei Feng* of University of Tokoku in Japan.

The world of electronic publication by Chinese students is diverse. There are global as well as regional publications. Some are affiliated to certain organizations, and some are independent. Formal publications like CND, which can be compared to commercial publications in quality, co-exist with informal publications maintained by Chinese student organizations in various universities via mailing lists. The types of the publications vary widely, from general news publications to poetry and to mere bulletins.

In addition, Chinese students also opened up some newsgroups on the Usenet, such as soc.culture.china, talk.politics.china, and alt.chinese.text, with the last being the most popular Chinese-language discussion group among Chinese students all over the world. Two large capacity archive sites, CND.ORG and IFCSS.ORG, were set up in 1993 to store most of the electronic journals published by Chinese students and other materials interesting to Chinese students. The World Wide Web servers of the CND and the IFCSS (Independent Federation of Chinese Students and Scholars in the United States), while providing tremendous resources

for on-line reading and viewing , also point to Internet sites based in China and thus open up a much greater world for those Chinese living outside China.

Statistics indicate a strong readership penetration by these publications. The global edition of the *China News Digest*, for example, had some 35,000 direct subscribers by March, 1995, who were located in 50 countries and regions in Africa, Asia, Oceania, Europe, North America and South America.[19] Table 1 shows the growth of the CND readership.

Table 1 CND Readership Since 1989

Periods	Direct subscribers	Countries & regions
March 1989	400	2
March 1990	16,000	N/A
March 1993	24,148	30
March 1994	34,281	40
March 1995	35,200	50

Source: CND special issues published on March 6 of 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995 respectively.

The growing readership of these electronic publications is also indicated by increases in the number of FTP and Gopher users searching those archive sites where journals published by Chinese students are stored. According to CND, more than 17,000 users visit the FTP archive site of CND.ORG and retrieve about 50,000 documents every week.[20] Another Gopher server, Sunrise at Montreal, Canada (sunrise.cc.mcgill.ca) claims some 100,000 visits a month now. Table 2 shows the rapid increase of the number of visits ever since it started in 1994.

Table 2 Monthly Visits to the Sunrise Chinese-language Gopher Site in Canada

Months	Files read	Visit times
November. 1994	113,129	11,839
December 1994.	118,120	12,725
March 1995	316,899	36,236
April 1995	336,273	44,968
December 1995	605,377	71,875
January 1996	762,270	106,963

Source: Compiled from the Sunrise gopher server's monthly access statistics. [21]

The use of the Web page of CND (http://www.cnd.org) is even more frequent. CND's statistics show that this Web site receives some 100,000 html requests a day.[22] Table 3 shows the growth of audience for www.cnd.org.

Table 3 The Use of CND.ORG Web Site

Periods	Files Transmitted Daily	Bytes Transmitted Daily
May 19 to Sept 29 (1994)	663	6, 696,717
Sept 29 to Nov 13 (1994)	2,507	32, 857,490
Aug 1 to Aug 31 (1995)	76,256	1,448,179,490
Nov.1 to Nov.30 (1995)	103,140	2,047,702,749

Source: 'World-Wide Web Access Statistics for www.cnd.org.' URL: http://www.cnd.org

The above statistics alone, of course, cannot tell the exact proportion of Chinese students accessing these publications, but considering the total number of Chinese students outside China, which stood at some 200,000, it gives a rough idea of how popular these journals are among the Chinese students. One *CND-Chinese Magazine* readers once did a survey of fellow students in his university. He selected two types of people: those who were

not sociable and those who had just come to the United States. The finding indicate that almost all of them read the magazine.[23]

To sum up, it is safe to claim that most of the Chinese students, especially those still in the universities, have access to such electronic publications. To them, these electronic publications have become real and viable mass media.

The Netted Communities of Chinese Students

The role of mass media is important in the formation of a community since . "primitive communities can [only] manage necessary interrelationships among members of the community through interpersonal communication. As the community grows, the intervention of mass media becomes essential." [24] This is particularly true in the case of Chinese students. Although as students they have e-mail accounts which enable them to contact their personal friends throughout the world instantly, the range of any personal group is after all limited. The electronic journals, therefore, are essential in maintaining the interrelationship among them as social groups.

First of all, the existing organizations of the Chinese students are strengthened through CMC. An example can be found in the Federation of Chinese Students and Scholars in Canada, which represents about 40,000 Chinese students belonging to some thirty Chinese students associations throughout the country. To perform its duties, such as coordinating the activities of associations, helping student families to reunite, assisting new comers, offering services in immigration and health insurance, the Federation uses extensively its communication network.[25] Take the immigration service for instance. The federation's 1991 work report said, "Several packages to answer frequently asked questions were posted to

public by FCSSC News Release. Some visa information was also offered to students to facilitate their entry and re-entry into Canada. Information on how to handle immigration and citizenship application was also posted. The FCSSC News Release team posted several articles containing information about what questions might be asked in citizenship and immigration interviews."[26]

At the local level, Chinese student groups, no matter how small they are, have also benefited from the electronic means of communication they possess. One case in point is the University of Missouri-Columbia, where there are several hundred Chinese students. In 1995, the local Friendship Association of Chinese Students and Scholars opened an account with Campus Computing and started a mailing list, which enabled local Chinese students to read and post messages, including personal ads, comments on current affairs and call for joint actions (such as stopping the Simpson Bill). Obviously, ties among the students as a group are strengthened.

The significance of electronic publications does not just lie in strengthening the existing organizations. They also help create groups which rely heavily on the net-based electronic publications to make their presence felt and communicate among themselves. A typical example could be found in the issue of the so-called "later arrived dependents." Under the Chinese Student Protection Act of 1992, Chinese students arriving in the United States before April 1, 1990 are eligible for permanent residency, but the act does not automatically cover their dependents arriving after that date. So in 1993 Chinese students with the same problem for their dependents formed a group over the Internet following the launch of a newsletter entitled *LADS* to look for ways to get out of the dilemma.

More commonly, students with the same interests are drawn by various specialized publications into different groups. These include fans of *Xinyusi*, who use the culture-oriented electronic journal to discuss culture-related matters; female readers of *Huazhao*, [27] who used this journal for women to explore sorrow and happiness of Chinese women abroad ; and poem readers and writers of the *Olive Tree*, who use the poem journal to build a poem world of their own. "Unbounded by geographical, temporal, or other physical barriers, " [28] these special groups have developed their own circles that stretch far apart. As the editors of the *Xinyusi* journal put it, "... *Xinyusi* ...does not belong to any organization, not even associations of students... It is devoted to exploring cultural matters .. . All it carries are the works of the fans over the computer network. Now a large group of *Xinyusi* comrades and writers is taking shape." [29] With the Web page of ACT (alt. chinese.text newsgroup), association among the users is even more visual. Space has been set up for viewers to link their own home pages to form a group of ACT friends.[30]

On a much grander scale, groups have been formed to cluster around general publications. Take CND for instance. Physically, it is no more than a small proportion of the hard disk of a Sun work station in Santiago, California, but more than 50 volunteers from over 20 cities in Asia, Australia, Europe Canada and the U.S.A. have formed a staff team to maintain its daily operations, while some 60 other CND friends from all over the world form a supporting team.[31] Moreover, there are many more individuals and organizations who keep in touch with CND not only as its readers but also as its friends. As CND stated in a message in its home page, many "institutions and innumerable individuals ... have offered generous donations, made valuable contributions and sent kind messages of appreciation to *China News Digest*. Their support has enabled CND to develop and prosper ever since her birth on March 6th, 1989." [32]

So, the Chinese students are no longer just scattered all over the world thanks to the electronic publications, which helped strengthening their ties. They have found themselves in various social groups, or closer social groups. These are groups in their localities, their host country, and simply on the compute networks.

Scholars of community studies before the computer age considered "area, ties, and social interaction" as the most important elements of a community. [33] Although the social groups of Chinese students may not be geographically based, they possess the other two most important characteristics of a community. With the geographic distance eliminated by computer mediated communication, it is no exaggeration to say that Chinese students have established various communities among themselves.

Within this context, it is no surprise that there have been frequent coordinated activities at various levels among the Chinese students over the past few years. These include, to name only a few, the successful campaign by Chinese students in the United States to lobby the U.S Congress for granting permanent residency to those who arrived in the country before or soon after the 1989 crackdown on student protest in China; fund raising by Chinese students in North America to help poor children in China to pursue education; protest against CBS for a broadcast program in which a news anchor described Chinese students as spies for Communist China; protests against several U.S. university administrations which maintained discriminatory policies against Chinese students; donation to families of Chinese students who died in the Kobe earthquake in Japan; and the campaign to protest U.S. congressional moves against news immigrants. Many of such campaigns were started on the Internet first where information about certain happenings reached thousands upon thousands of students through electronic publications.

It is also expected that a sense of belonging is growing among Chinese students towards their Internet-based communities. On the part of the editors of these electronic publications, this is demonstrated by the amount of voluntary work they have done for their fellow students. All positions of these electronic journals are voluntary in nature. As *CSS Today*, a Chinese student publication in English, put it, there are "numerous volunteers who quietly edit and archive documents, maintain mailing lists, construct connection junctions, and help fellow netters over technical bumps." They "will long be appreciated and remembered in the way they prefer: the anonymous, unsung heroes."[34] Despite the voluntary nature, the workload of editors for these publications can be very heavy at times. For instance, the CND editor-in-chief for its global edition sometimes needs to work four to eight hours a day to keep the journal going. The workload of each sub-editor of CND' s Chinese magazine *Huaxia Wenzhai* averages 10 to 20 hours a week.[35] Wu Fang, who has been working for CND for six years and worked as its publishing manager until the summer of 1995, singled out dedication to the overseas Chinese student community as one of the reasons why the editorial staff are willing to contribute so many hours of voluntary work. Wu said:

> All of the CNDers are ordinary Chinese students/scholars just like you. They have their own research/study/job to handle and their own families (most of them) to feed. Dedication is the only thing that tied them together to work for free, for the sake of their beloved China and Chinese people. The only rewards they receive are feelings of contribution and occasional nice words from the readers. They do argue among themselves, disagree on various issues, and lose their temper from time to time. But the common goal of serving the overseas Chinese community (and eventually those inside China itself) is a very strong force tying all of the CNDers together for unity.[36]

On the part of the readers, the sense of belonging to the community is first reflected in their support of these journals as they discover their value to their life. One typical example is seen in their donation to CND for the purchase of its own work station. At an on-line conference to mark the publication of the 100th issue of *Huaxia Wenzhai* in 1993, one editor

talked about CND not having its own computer to handle subscriptions and store information for FTP retrieval. A reader in Britain then called on others to donate money for CND to buy its own work station and his proposal was warmly received. In about one month, CND received some $14,000 from about 700 donors around the world and finally got its own work station to set up the FTP site—CND.ORG.[37] Another example can be found in the way readers responded to CND's call for volunteer writers. In November 1994, CND decided to recruit some supporting writers to handle its daily rewriting task. Within a week of CND's announcement of its recruitment plan, more than 50 readers responded to offer help.[38]

A community is essentially a group of individuals who constitute a unit,[39] be it in a geographical sense, or in the sense of a social group. "The degree to which they constitute such a unit depends on the degree to which each individual displays toward the group the psychological sense of community or transcendent interest."[40] In this sense, we may say that the consciousness of belonging together and the organized activities in pursuit of the common interests are further indicators of the growing communities of the Chinese students.

Implications

The Chinese students are by no means the pioneers in developing social-group communities despite geographical barriers. Similar communities, such as scientific communities set up by various disciplines of science and civil communities formed by different interest groups, have long been in existence. What has made the communities of Chinese students unique is that they depend almost solely on the new electronic technology of computer networking while other communities are usually helped by the traditional media in their formation. Their experience is therefore significant for other ethnic or interest groups

who may be ignored by the mainstream media but not financially capable of setting up their own media to serve their own needs for information and the exchange of ideas.

What, then, can we infer from the case of the Chinese students? It is clear that whether the case can apply to other ethnic groups depends on two factors. First, it depends on whether the technology is available and will be mastered by people who are interested in setting up a community of their own. And second, it depends on the desire of such ethnic groups to keep their independence and identity. The experience of the Chinese students proved the first point but their experience may not yet be applicable to other ethnic groups. As was foreseen by McLuhan and Powers, [41] whether such electronically netted ethnic communities will appear depends very much on the need of various ethnic groups to keep their cultural roots amidst the cultural assimilation process.

Results of other studies, however, long demonstrated a dual-track process. In the United States, for instance, it is not rare to see that many ethnics intermarry and go to places wherever they can find a job. The cultural assimilation process has been so strong that not many of those relocated ethnics want to keep their ethnic and cultural identities. Like the early European immigrants, they may soon become Americans rather than members of a particular group of Americans with an ethnic label. This is especially true of the second and third generations of the new ethnics. On the other hand, it has also been observed that the population of non-assimilation of certain ethnic groups, including Hispanics, Blacks and Asians, is growing in the United States. [42] Many studies found that the use of ethnic press has contributed to the slowdown of the process of acculturation, or assimilation of ethnic groups into the mainstream culture, in a multi-ethnic society. It has been suggested that media targeted at a special ethnic group using its language have helped the minority people to keep their ethnic identity [43] because the media function to communicate knowledge, values, and

norms from one generation to another or from the members of a society to newcomers. In this way they serve to increase social cohesion by widening the base of common experience.[44] It is in this sense that the ethnic press is said to be a striking force in the balance between the maintenance of the native ways and adoption of new ways of life by immigrants, who are pulled in the two directions. "[45] In the electronic age, this kind of argument often finds more evidence for support. Discussing the effect of what they called "electronic proximity" on maintaining ethnic groups in North America, for example, McLuhan and Powers in *The Global Village* contemplated that the new generation of immigrants --the Chinese, Japanese. Koreans, Arabs, Lebanese, Mexicans, Central Americans, and Indians --would be well served by the new media. As they saw it, "After a generation or two, physical proximity should give way to electronic proximity as the new ethnics intermarry and travel to more remote parts of the country...,"[46] but "we may very well see ethnic barrios organizing themselves into self-sufficient, electronically coordinated enclosures, where old-style, ward-heel politics will flourish at the speed of light."[47]

While it may still be too early to conclude on McLuhan's prediction about the impact of new electronic technologies on the formation of ethnic or other kinds of subcommunities within the "global village", it is never too early to look for signs of such development. As the case of Chinese students shows, the arrival of CMC has provided more opportunities for the establishment of various communities. The space for developing different types of cultures is being expanded rather than contracted. The computer network no doubt has further expanded the space and speeded up the process of human communication. If the ubiquitous and increasingly identical traditional mass media programs are driving the world into the direction of a global village, CMC now provides us with a new means to construct our own condominiums.

Notes

[1] George A. Hillery Jr., "Definitions of community: Areas of agreement," *Rural Sociology*, 10 (1995):111.

[2] Alex S. Edelstein and Otto N. Larsen, "The weekly press 's contribution to a sense of urban community," *Journalism Quarterly* (Autumn 1960):489.

[3] Linda Steiner, "Finding community in nineteenth century suffrage periodicals," *American Journalism*, (Summer 1991):1.

[4] William J. Goode, "Community within a community: The professions," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (1955):194.

[5] E.T. Hiller, "The community as a social group," *American Sociological Review*, 6 (1941):189.

[6] Linda Steiner, "Finding community in nineteenth century suffrage periodicals," *American Journalism*, (Summer 1991):1.

[7] The quote was taken from the hard copy "call for papers" issued by the AEJMC Mass Communication and Society Division in early 1996.

[8] See "About this book ..." in Steven G. Jones ed., *CyberSociety, Computer-Mediated Communication and Community* (London: Sage Publications 1995),

[9] Jörg Heitkötter, "Big Dummy's Guide to the Internet," (August 27, 1993). Available WWW: http://www.td.anl.gov File: InternetGuide.html.

[10] Steven G. Jones ed., *CyberSociety, Computer-Mediated Communication and Community* (London: Sage Publications 1995): Back cover.

[11] Steven G. Jones ed., *CyberSociety, Computer-Mediated Communication and Community* (London: Sage Publications 1995): 160-161.

[12] Greetika Pathania, "Soc.Culture.India: Computer created community for Indian students and professionals," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Speech Communication Association (77th, Atlanta, GA, October 31-November 3, 1991).

[13] Rob Shields, *Cultures of Internet: Virtual Sopaces , Real Histories, Living Bodies*, (London: Sage Publications, 1995):5.

[14] "Foreign students in the United States," *Central Daily News*, Taiwan (March 26, 1995).

[15] The April 28, 1995 issue of *Huaxia Wenzhai* reported that Chinese students in the United States, including those already graduated, totaled 100,000. Available FTP: cnd.org Directory: pub/hxwz/ GB-95. File : cm9504d.gb.

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And the first issue of *Little Mermaid*, an electronic publication of the Chinese Students in Denmark, reported that there were some 11,000 Chinese students in Canada. Available FTP: 139.11.212.103/ Directory: mermaid/gb-1994. File: mry01.gb.

[16] These are 1991 figures reported in *Little Mermaid* (January 1, 1994). Available FTP: 139.11.212.103. Directory: mermaid/gb-1994. File: mry01.gb.

[17] The figure was calculated based on "More Chinese scholars abroad returning to Shanghai," a Xinhua News Agency report released on April 21, 1995.

[18] See Lu Bingfu's article in *Huaxia Wenzhai*, supplemental issue No. 34 (April 5, 1994). Available FTP: cnd.org. Directory: pub/hxwz/ GB-94. File: cm9404a.gb.

[19] See *CND-Global* (March 6, 1995). Available WWW: ftp://cnd.org. Directory: pub/cnd-global/1995.1-6. File: cnd-glob ... MAR05.

[20] See *CND-GLOBAL* special issues of March 6 1994 and 1995. Available WWW: ftp://cnd.org. Directory: pub/cnd-global/1994.1-4. File: cnd-glob ... MAR05; Directory: pub/cnd-global/1995.1-6. File: cnd-global ... MAR05.

[21] Available Gopher: sunrise.cc.mcgill.ca. Directory: 00/gopher/logging. Files: log9411.hz, log9412.hz, log9503.hz, log9504.hz, log9512.hz, log9601.hz.

[22] See World-Wide Web Access Statistics for www.cnd.org. Available WWW: http://www.cnd.org. Directory: Stas. File: World-Wide Web Access Statistics for www.cnd.org. The figure was observed in March, 1996 by the authors. In September, 1995, the number of requests was about 87,000 a day).

[23] See Yue Han's speech text in "CND-Chinese Magazine editors and readers celebrate the publication of the 200th issue, " *Huaxia Wenzhai (CND-Chinese Magazine)*. Available FTP: cnd.org. Directory: pub/hxwz/GB-95. File: cm9501D2.

[24] John Martin, *Comparative Mass Media Systems* (New York: Longman Inc., 1983):17.

[25] See "FCSSC history." Available Gopher: cnd.org. Directory: Federation of Chinese Students and Scholars in Canada/FCSSC Head Office Archives. File: FCSSC History.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Available WWW: gopher:// sunrise.cc.mcgill.ca:70. Directory: 11/magazine/huazhao.

[28] Anne Wells Branscomb, "Anonymity, autonomy, and accountability: challenges to the First Amendment in cyberspaces," *Yale Law Journal*, 7 (1995): 104.

[29] See "Remarks on the first anniversary of Xinyusi, " Xinyusi, 2 (1995). Available FTP: ftp.msi.umn.edu. Directory: pub/hchen/XYS. File:xys9502.gb.

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[30] Available WWW: http://galen.med.virginia.edu. Directory: ~lh6n/Chinese/NP/np.html.

[31] See CND "Acknowledgment." Available WWW : http://www.cnd.org. Directory: CNDack.html.

[32] Ibid.

[33] A study of nearly 100 definitions of community concluded that the majority of definers considered "area, common ties, and social interaction" as important elements of a community. See "Definitions of community, " *Rural Sociology*, .22 (1957): 111-123.

[34] Eddie Cheng, "The CSS virtual community," No. 95.005 *CSS Today* (1995). Available FTP: cnd.org. Directory: pub/e-pubs/css-Today. File: today95.005

[35] Liu Yuan, *Huaxia Wenzhai* (January 27, 1995) Available FTP: cnd.org. Directory: pub/hxwz. File: cm9501d.gb.

[36] Wu Fang made the statement in an interview through e-mail conducted by one of the authors in January 1995. The message was received on January 6, 1995.

[37] "*Huaxia Wenzhai* computer in operation," *Huaxia Wenzhai* (May 14, 1993). Available FTP: cnd.org. Directory: pub/hxwz/GB-93 File:cm9305b.gb.

[38] This was announced by CND Editor Wu Fang in an e-mail message to the News Writer Group on November 22,1994.

[39] M. Stacy, "The myth of community studies," *British Journal of Sociology*, 20 (1969):134. Quoted in Humphrey A. Regis, "A theoretical framework for the investigation of the role and significance of communication in the development of the sense of community among English-speaking Caribbean immigrants," *The Howard Journal of Communications* (Winter 1989-90):60.

[40] Humphrey A. Regis, "A theoretical framework for the investigation of the role and significance of communication in the development of the sense of community among English-speaking Caribbean immigrants," *The Howard Journal of Communications* (Winter 1989-90):60.

[41] In their book The *Global Village*, the two authors said, "After a generation or two, physical proximity should give way to electronic proximity as the new ethnics intermarry and travel to more remote parts of the country. They will want to keep their parental roots as well as go with the flow of assimilation." See Marshal McLuhan and Bruce R. Powers, *The Global Village* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989):85. This suggests that the two consider whether the electronically netted communities will appear depends to certain extent on the wishes or need of ethnic groups to keep their cultural roots amidst the cultural assimilation process.

[42] Pia Nicolini, "Puerto Rican Leader's Views of English-Language Media," *Journalism Quarterly* (Summer/Autumn, 1987):597.

[43] Rosanne Singer, "Ethnic newspapers in the United States," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism (61st, Seattle, Washington, August 13-16, 1978).

[44] Werner J. Severin and James W. Tankard, *Communication Theories*, (New York: Hastings House, 1984): 213.

[45] W. H. Chang, "Mass communication and acculturation," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism (57th, San Diego, August 18-21, 1974).

[46] Marshal McLuhan and Bruce R. Powers, *The Global Village* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989):85.

[47] *Ibid.*